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ABSTRACT

The document offers an overview of citizenship-related topics which were discussed at the third annual National Citizenship Conference sponsored by the National Education Association held in Washington, D.C. in May, 1948. Excerpts are provided from conference speeches by government, civic, educational, and organizational leaders including President Harry Truman, California Congressman Richard Nixon, and Attorney General Tom C. Clark. Speakers and discussion groups at the 1946, 1947, and 1948 annual citizenship conferences identified citizenship qualities. These included that a good citizen recognizes social problems, has the will and ability to work toward solution of these problems, practices democratic human relationships in the family, school, and community, endeavors to understand different racial viewpoints, bases political actions on democratic values, participates in community affairs, and stresses the interrelationship of the United States with other nations. Evaluative comments of the third National Citizenship Conference by church, legal, educational, and youth groups indicate that the mandates to improve citizenship were positively received. (DB)

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NATIONAL Education Association

OCTOBER 1948 No. 1

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In welcoming the delegates to the Third National Conference assembled in the Rose Garden of the White House at 4 P. M. Tuesday, May 18, 1948, President Truman emphasized that the United States is no longer responsible only for the forty-eight states that compose our nation. He appealed to all Americans to develop a world-wide outlook, noting that the whole world is "as close together as a community the size of a county in 1848"—a hundred years ago.

The President said: "We must be able to understand and to assume our world responsibility if we are to have peace and friendship with all people."

A CALL TO SERVICE

BY

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES [1]

To The Philadelphia Conference in 1946:

Never before has citizenship meant so much to the people of this Nation as it does in the critical days that lie ahead.

* * * As one of the victorious nations our citizens face the great task of assuring that those who died in the great struggle for peace shall not have made this sacrifice in vain.

To The Boston Conference in 1947:

With the serious problems of this postwar period confronting us daily, our country needs the strongest and most unified citizenship that it is possible to attain. All efforts to this end are important to our national welfare.

To The Washington Conference in 1948:

There is no more precious possession today than United States citizenship. A nation is no stronger than its citizenry. With many problems facing us daily in this perplexing and trying era, it is vital that we have a unity of purpose—to the end that freedom, justice, and opportunity, good will and happiness may be assured ourselves and peoples everywhere.

[1] Excerpts from President Truman's Greetings to the delegates of the First, Second, and Third National Conferences on Citizenship.

The Origin and Progress Of the National Conferences On Citizenship

By EARLE T. HAWKINS

President Maryland State Teachers College
and Chairman Citizenship Committee,
National Education Association

EARLE T. HAWKINS

The National Education Association's Committee on Citizenship dates from 1939 when it was called "The Committee on Induction Into Citizenship." With the adopting of its more inclusive name, the Committee has concerned itself during the past several years with the over-all emphasis on citizenship in America.

It has not stressed only—or even particularly—citizenship in the school classroom. It has been concerned with the building of citizenship in all phases of life—particularly for young men and young women who will soon be assuming the responsibilities of active, adult citizenship—the group ranging in age from the middle teens to twenty-one.

In 1945-46 the Committee made a thorough canvass of materials on citizenship issued by various national organizations interested in this field. The results were both enlightening and discouraging. It was found that excellent and helpful materials were very, very few. Organizations were interested, but apparently not very certain as to effective procedures that should be used.

The conviction gradually came to the committee members that it would be exceedingly helpful to call together in a great national conference representatives of all national organizations interested in, or working in the field of building citizenship. Accordingly, the financial support of the parent group —the National Education Association —was secured; the place selected was Philadelphia, where the Declaration of Independence was signed; and the dates chosen were May 17, 18, and 19—ending with National Citizenship Day.

In calling the Conference, the Committee stated its convictions as follows:

THAT with the end of armed hostilities a reaction is likely to set in—has in fact already set in—leading to a lessening of the high interest in active citizenship and patriotic service strongly marked during a time of crisis;

THAT never before in the history of the world has it been so important to keep civic interest and participation at a high level;

THAT there are many leading national organizations that play a part or can play a part in developing better practices in good citizenship;

THAT these organizations are all working independently, with much duplication and with varying degrees of success;

THAT the contributions of these organizations have had real value, and that this value can be increased manyfold if the various group efforts are coordinated;

THAT there are practices, programs, and techniques that are effective in developing good citizenship—and other practices, programs, and techniques that are of doubtful or negative value;

THAT there has never been a concerted nationwide effort to evaluate and attempt to improve the programs of various groups;

THAT there is often a tendency for sincerely

interested groups to pay more attention to the dramatic and spectacular;

THAT there is likewise the danger of a group developing programs that have more results in the way of publicizing the group itself than in developing effective and constructive citizenship;

THAT the ineffectiveness of such programs often comes not from wilful desire to advertise one's good deeds, but from a lack of knowledge of types of programs that have proved successful;

THAT it would, therefore, be highly desirable to bring together in a conference representatives of the various outstanding civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and communications groups of the country who would give several days' serious attention to the following concrete objectives:

1. To re-examine the functions and duties of American citizenship in today's world;
2. To assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective;
3. To indicate the ways and means by which various organizations may contribute concretely to the development of a more active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry in our country.

The response to the call was enthusiastic and gratifying. To the Conference came more than 200 persons representing some 140 leading national organizations. They listened to addresses by outstanding national leaders. But for the most of the time they worked in groups, trying to arrive at some definite answers to the problems growing out of the objectives listed above.

The Second Conference held at Boston in May of 1947 followed the same general pattern developed for the Philadelphia Conference.

In both of these conferences the Committee had the active advice and cooperation of the Department of Justice, and at both of them Honorable Tom C. Clark, the Attorney General of the United States, was a key speaker.

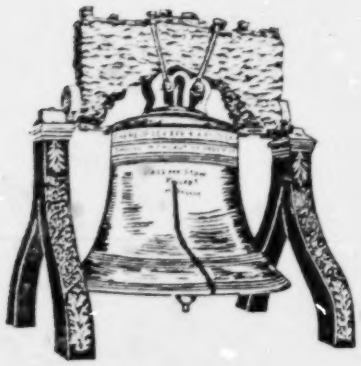
The Third Conference, held in Washington on May 16-19, 1948, was by far the largest and most effective of the three. In this Conference the United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association, through its Citizenship Committee, were joint sponsors. More than eight hundred delegates registered for the three-day session, and a vast amount of constructive thinking went on in the various discussion groups.

As outcomes of the three conferences, the following may be listed:

1. The inspiration, information, and challenge to better citizenship practices experienced by the delegates who attended the conferences.
2. The opportunities afforded leading national organizations to review the effectiveness of their citizenship programs through conferences with other national leaders in the field of citizenship.
3. The issuance of complete reports of the conferences, making available to the delegates and to other interested persons the materials presented by the various speakers and the summaries of the discussion groups.
4. The impetus to carry out on a State or local scale the type of cooperative effort exhibited by scores of organizations on a national scale in the several conferences.
5. The drawing to the attention of people all over the country of the importance of constructive citizenship education programs to which all interested organizations may contribute.

THE GOOD CITIZEN recognizes the social problems of the times and has the will and the ability to work toward their solution.

The good citizen recognizes and endeavors to help in the solution of social problems; problems of race, religion, economics, and politics—problems of the role of government in relation to the people; problems of the place of the United States in world affairs; problems of the equitable use of resources; problems of family, school, community, and neighborhood living.



The First National Conference On Citizenship

Held in Philadelphia in the shade of the Liberty Bell, May 1946, set the pattern

OBJECTIVES

To reexamine the functions and duties of United States citizenship in today's world.

To assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective.

To indicate the ways and means by which various organizations may contribute concretely to the development of a more active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry in our country.

The Second National Conference On Citizenship

Held in Boston, the Cradle of Liberty, May 1947, sounded the alarm

THE THIRD NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

Held in Washington, D. C.

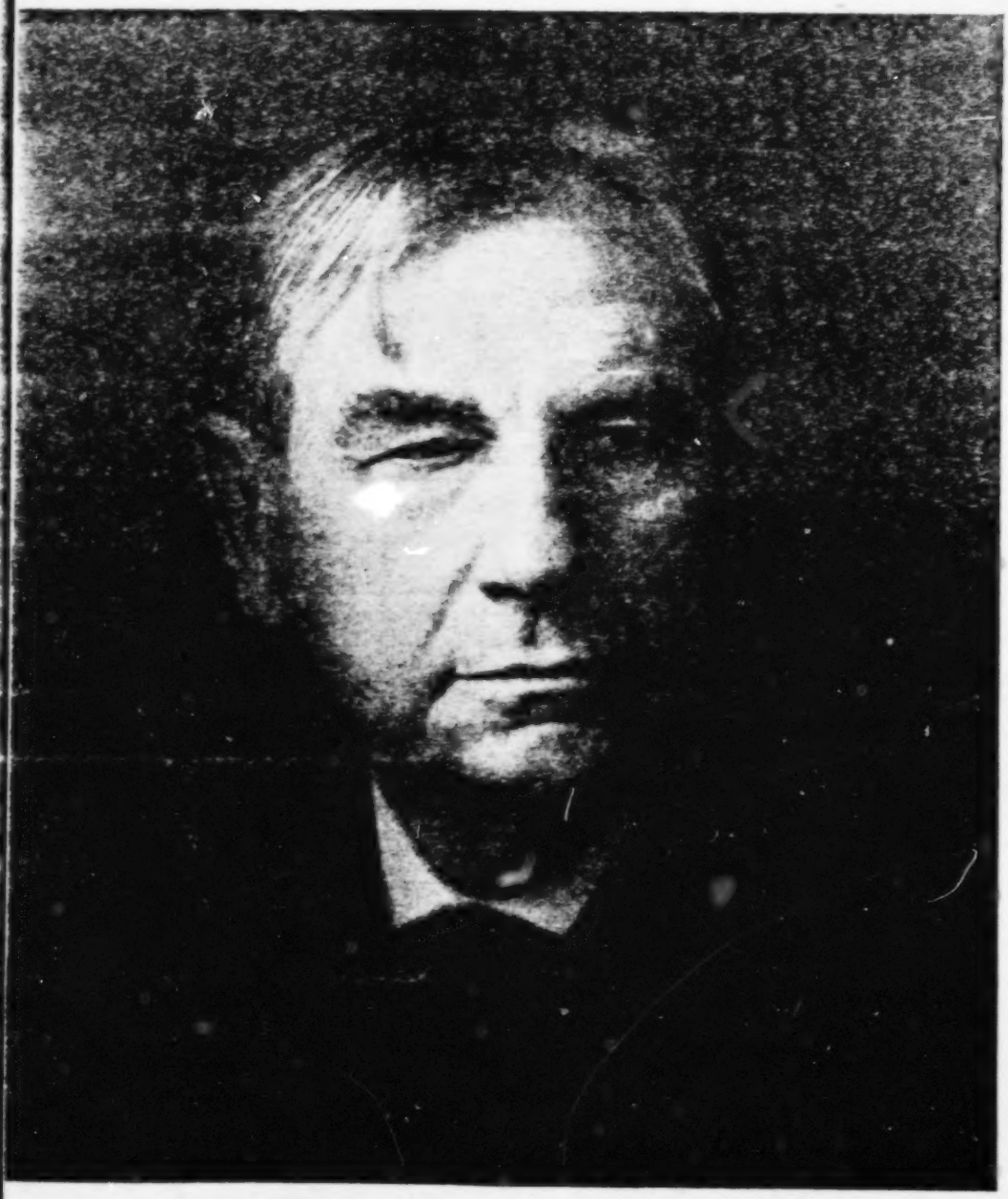
THE NATION'S CAPITAL

May 16-19, 1948

Whether you like it or not, the majority will rule. Accept loyally the democratic principle. The voice of the majority neither is that of God nor of devil, but of men. Do not be abashed to be found with the minority, but on the other hand do not affect superiority or make the absurd mistake of thinking you are right or entitled to special credit merely because you do not agree with the common judgment. Your experience of life cannot fail to impress you with the soundness of that judgment in the long run, and I believe you will come to put your trust, as I do, in the common sense of the people of this country, and in the verdicts they give after the discussions of press, of platform and of ordinary intercourse.

—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.

THE HONORARY CHAIRMEN



To emphasize the significance of citizenship — reminds us all that what is truly an important event in the lives of those who come from other lands to seek citizenship here, is no less important for the Nation which we serve; and that upon us rests the responsibility for welcoming our new citizens with dignity and reverence in keeping with so precious an institution as American Citizenship.

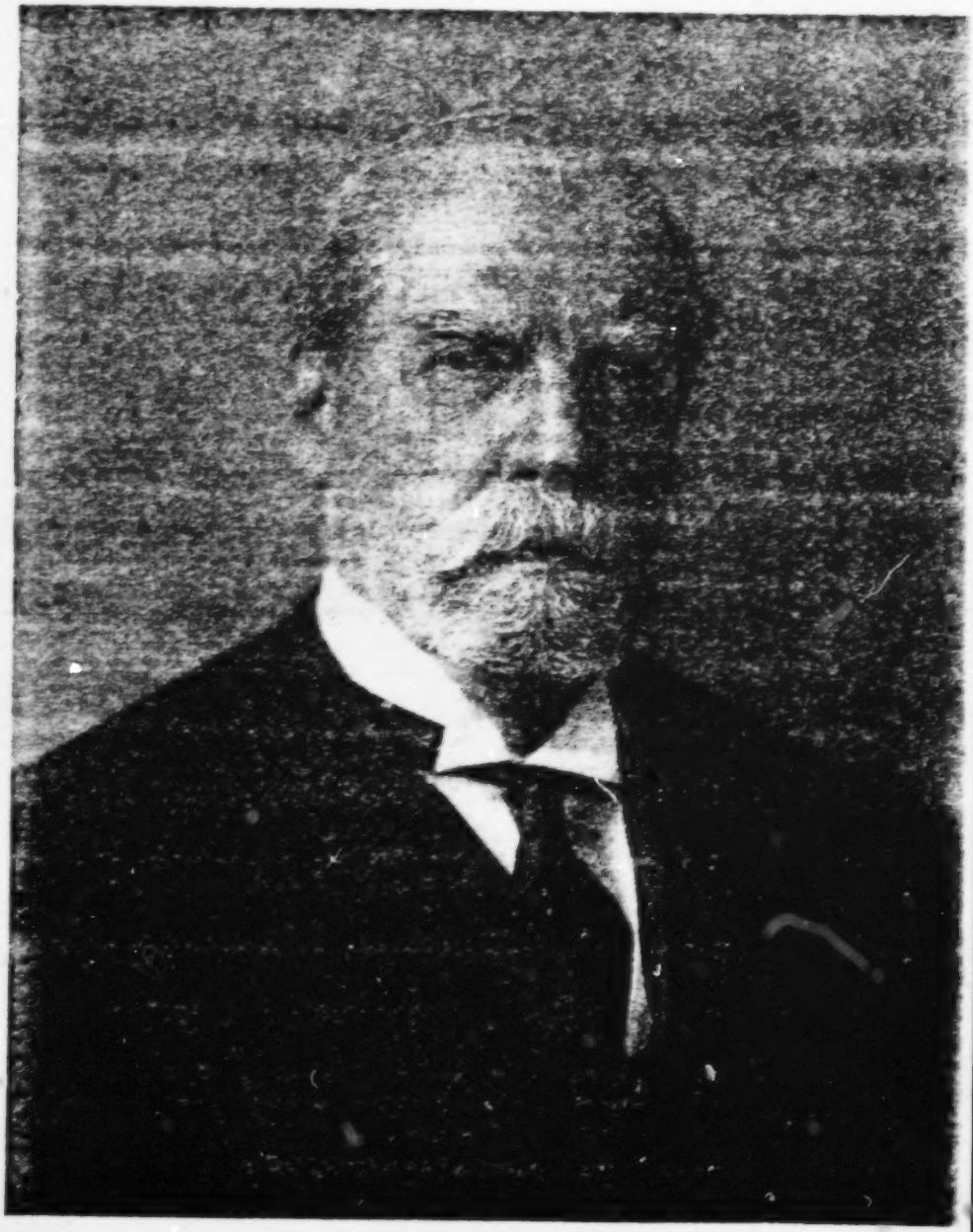
—Harlan F. Stone.

The Honorable Harlan F. Stone
Former Chief Justice of the United States
HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE FIRST CONFERENCE

OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCES

The peril of
this Nation
is not in any
foreign foe!
We, the people,
are its power,
its peril, and
its hope!

—Charles
Evans
Hughes



The Honorable Charles Evans Hughes
Former Chief Justice of the United States
HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE SECOND AND THIRD CONFERENCES

No Greater Joy!

No Greater Duty![2]

By TOM C. CLARK
Attorney General of the United States

HON. TOM C. CLARK

I can conceive no greater joy than being an American citizen, but I can also conceive no greater duty. * * *

* * * Our heritage includes the things that mankind has longed and searched for since the dawn of time. Here we may travel freely, speak our thought, worship in our faiths, select our vocations, start our business, choose our friends, own our homes, and live undisturbed under the law. * * *

It was no easy task to create this nation with its countless opportunities. It was no easy task to build it to this high position of influence for good. And it is no easy task to keep going on the principles and ideals upon which our nation has nourished and grown.

* * * We recently staked our entire existence that our nation and its precepts might endure. We cannot forget that we fought two world wars within our generation. The wounds of the first were not healed before we were forced to fight a second war. Our country gave of its youth and its energy. It poured forth billions of its wealth that these rights might be maintained. * * *

Now we are again learning the solemn lesson that there is no safe harbor for democracy—that there never can be a safe harbor for democracy—no permanent dry-dock for our Ship of State.

Permanently moored it would rust, rot, and fall apart. It must be always moving forward, and be built to stand stormy weather. And all is not smooth sailing today. As always, the world continues to change. America must have the vision and determination to assist in seeing that the world changes for the betterment of mankind—that the cause of human progress is our cause.

* * * Science has made greater advance during the past fifty years than in the previous two thousand years. And the discovery of atomic energy is only a beginning.

A grave question now facing the peoples of the world, especially those of the United States, is whether we are prepared, spiritually, intellectually, and morally to combat the evil forces that have been let loose upon us. We must recognize and obey spiritual law, as well as man-made law, and we must respect the universal brotherhood of mankind, or our civilization may be doomed.

We must keep constantly before us the truth taught by the lowly Carpenter over nineteen hundred years ago. * * *

As science has made today's world one neighborhood, our liberty is entwined with that of peoples everywhere. Our future is associated with the future of a thousand million people throughout the world

[2] Excerpts from an address to the Third National Conference on Citizenship, delivered Tuesday evening, May 18, 1948, in Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C.

who have never had enough to eat! Our health is linked with that of countless other millions, menaced by starvation, who have never known what real health means! * * *

Our foreign and domestic policies are two sides of the same medallion. We are assisting peoples across the sea with some necessities of life so that they may restore their peace and freedom. Generous as we are in our dealings with those peoples, we must continue to be as just and generous with each other here at home.

I wish to emphasize again that the safest and best way to combat sinister "isms" and subversive groups who seek to overthrow our government by force and violence--the best way to defeat a God-less ideology--is to make the ideal of democracy a living fact--and to make our way of life such as to enlist and keep the loyalty of our citizens in thought, in feeling, and in action.

As the stream seeks the sea, man seeks the fulfillment of his being. We should make it possible for the stream of life to flow unobstructed so that every individual may have the opportunity for a full and abundant life and to become a responsible member of the community.

The obligation is upon us, the citizenry, to provide the facilities whereby the intellectual and physical energies of all our citizens—especially those who may be forgotten and neglected—are cultivated and put to productive use. * * *

The ills of democracy can be cured only by more democracy—reducing squalor, disease, and woefully inadequate housing. In the fullness of democracy there should be no underpaid school teachers and no millions of children without adequate health and school facilities. * * *

This is the challenge of the hour and the day.* * *

Let us always remember that while democracy is not perfect, the democratic ideal has sustained our Nation since its beginning; that while in our daily practices we have on many occasions fallen short of the ideal, in the long run we have been moving in the direction of our goal.

We must continue to move in that direction!

Our hope in the most promising age of all mankind rests upon the shoulders of American citizens —Unselfish! Enlightened! Unafraid! * * *

THE GOOD CITIZEN practices democratic human relationships in the family, school, community, and in the larger scene.

The good citizen recognizes the interdependence of all people in family, school, community, national, and world relationships. He practices the kinds of human relationships that are consistent with a democratic society. He personalizes what happens to others, thereby earning respect and confidence. He develops his own ability to cooperate with others. He sincerely desires to help other persons. Through these practices, he builds good will as a resource for the future.

The Citizenship Work of the Immigration and Naturalization Service[3]

By WATSON B. MILLER, Commissioner
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Department of Justice

WATSON B. MILLER

I like to remember what Woodrow Wilson said to five thousand newly naturalized citizens one time in Philadelphia—"You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to no one, unless it be God—certainly not of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race." * * *

Our population is predominantly native-born. Yet, during the history of this country many natives of other lands have braved hardship and danger to enter its portals and participate in its progressive life. When a noncitizen becomes legally naturalized in the United States he is placed in all respects, except his ineligibility to the Presidency, on a legal and political equality with the native-born. Likewise, he is obligated to assume the same responsibilities as those of a native citizen.

One of my immediate official responsibilities, * * * is "to promote instruction and training in citizenship responsibilities of applicants for naturalization." This is done through the medium of the public schools. There is authority of law for the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to prescribe the scope and nature of the examination of petitioners for naturalization as to their admissibility to citizenship. Among the subjects included is the applicant's understanding of the fundamental principles of the Constitution.

The Congress has thus recognized that the valuable privileges of citizenship must be balanced by the obligations which accompany that legal status.

* * * The Service is not an "educational organization" itself. Education is a function of the States and local communities. But the Service is the agency most closely associated officially with the newcomers from foreign lands. It must make recommendations to the courts as to their qualifications for naturalization. Therefore, it is in a particularly favorable position to interest the aspirant for citizenship in taking advantage of the opportunities offered by public-school classes in English and in Government.

In a recent instruction to the members of our Field Service who recommend naturalization applicants to the courts, the Attorney General and I emphasized the great importance of an informed citizenry as an essential pillar of our democratic way of life. There is general agreement that measures which foster increased and intelligent participation in government merit strong support. High

[3] Excerpts from an address to the Third National Conference on Citizenship, delivered Monday evening, May 17, 1948, Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C.

standards of citizenship are the goal in the naturalization process.

During the fiscal year ended June 30 last, 125,000 names of newly arrived noncitizens were sent to the public schools that the interest of the immigrants might be aroused in taking advantage of the educational opportunities offered by local communities. * * * 115,213 candidates—were supplied with * * * various parts of the Federal Textbook on Citizenship. This publication, prepared by specialists in adult education, contains clear and simply stated descriptions of the nature and purpose of our Governmental system—National and local.

The educational facilities of over forty of our State universities and colleges have been offered to candidates in rural areas who, by reason of inaccessibility or physical handicap, have been unable to attend regular public-school classes. * * * new citizens even in isolated areas are enabled to give a good account of themselves by active participation in civic life.

One of the by-products of the naturalization process—and not the least important—is the opportunity presented to our growing youth to see and participate in the judicial granting of citizenship. The Attorney General and I have furthered arrangements by which our field officers, with the cooperation of the judges of the naturalization courts, invite teachers and students of elementary and high schools to be present at naturalization hearings. There the students observe the manner in which applicants for citizenship and their witnesses are examined. Finally, the spectators join in the thrill which accompanies the investiture of the candidate with their new citizenship.

On occasion the new citizens are not only received graciously by the court but patriotic and civic organizations * * * join in a welcome to these newest of citizens. Such proceedings have been approved and stimulated because they are calculated to react favorably upon naturalized and native citizens as well. * * * I can think of no finer things, as we refresh our blood with other strains, than to thus set up stimulating and directional guide posts for the wonderful oncoming generations who grow up to our shoulders with speed which sometimes astonishes us. * * *

The true citizen will endeavor to understand the different racial viewpoints of the various elements which enter into our population. He will seek to divest himself of antipathy or prejudice toward any of those who have come to us from foreign lands, and he will try, by happy illustration in his own conduct, to hasten appreciation of the American ideal. For him "American" will ever be a word of the spirit and not of the flesh. Difference in custom or religion will not be permitted to obscure the common human worth, nor will bigotry of creed or relation prevent a just appraisement. The pitiful revelations of ignorance and squalor, of waste and folly, will not sap his faith. He will patiently seek truly to know himself and others, and with fraternal insight to enter into the world's work, to share the joys of accomplishment, and to help in the bearing of the burdens of misery. He will be free from the prejudice of occupation or of residence. He will not look askance either at city or at country. For him any honest work will be honorable, and those who are toiling with their hands will not be merely economic factors of work, but human beings of like passions and possessed of the "certain inalienable rights." Neither birth nor station, neither circumstance nor vocation, will win or prevent the esteem to which fidelity, honesty, and sincerity are alone entitled. He will look neither up nor down, but with even eye will seek to read the hearts of men.

—Charles Evans Hughes.

Citizenship — Rights and Responsibilities [1]

By CARL B. HYATT
Director, Attorney General's Citizenship Program

JUDGE CARL B. HYATT

Today, "Basic Human Rights and Attendant Responsibilities" extend from the familiar places of our home towns to the far flung corners of the earth. * * *

Plunged into the Atomic Age, in possession of a power that we do not fully understand and have not yet mastered, we are faced with momentous decisions, impelling in their urgency.

We are forced to think, not merely in community, or State, or even National terms, but in world terms. For like the pebble, tossed into a body of water, which starts circles that widen and widen until they reach the farthest shore, what happens in our hamlets and villages ultimately is felt in the capitals of the nations.

What we do in world affairs depends upon what we are and do as a Nation, which in turn depends upon what we are and do in our states and communities.

And in the final analysis, it is what we are and do as individuals.

The strength of our Nation comes from the combined strength of the men and women who make it up, and the strength of each of these comes from within, not from without.

From world affairs to local affairs threads the principle that rights and responsibilities are inseparable. They follow one upon another as do the ebb and flow of the tide in the seas that both separate and unite the lands of the globe. * * *

* * * Happiness, and friendship, and peace belong to all humanity

Stars of David, and crosses row on row, in cemeteries under wide and starry skies everywhere spell out that liberty is universal—that this God-given right planted in the hearts of all should be denied to none.

Man cannot speak truly of freedom and mean freedom only for himself.

He must mean more—a willingness to defend the liberty of others. Freedom is not for Americans to enjoy in isolation. A gift of the Divine, if we are selfish with it, we may lose it.

When we speak of liberty we should mean not only the benefits it brings, but the lofty ideas it represents and the duties and obligations that it imposes. We must think not of what we want, but of what others should have. Acting upon this moral and spiritual plane, our own lives will become richer. * * *

Our Heritage comes from all the world and our people from all mankind.

Out of the eternal longing and quest for freedom,

[1] Excerpts from an address to the Third National Conference on Citizenship, delivered Monday morning, May 17, 1948, in the Auditorium, Interior Department, Washington, D. C.

millions from far away lands crossed strange oceans and came here to realize their dreams of liberty. * * *

People of every race, creed, and culture, brought their gifts and laid them at the alter of America. America now has the opportunity to repay its debts to mankind. * * *

As we seek to light the way, and to guide humanity to freedom and happiness in lands across the seas, we must likewise attempt to build for people within our own borders a way of life that is filled with liberty and justice for all.

With all of our glorious history, our country is not perfect. There are moments when the breezes cease to blow and the flag droops in shame at the selfishness and greed of those who betray the American heritage, and divert its march toward the fullness of democracy.

A good America can become a better America. Sovereign citizens—genuine and faithful in purpose, ever mindful of their trust—can hand on to the next generation a better and nobler America than they themselves found. * * *

As we face the future, let us place the ideal as high as possible—even beyond our reach. The ideal that shapes our life should perhaps be as far above us as the stars that guide the navigator, charting the course of his ship at sea.

Our precious American Heritage which we seek to translate on local, national, and international levels is not something material. We cannot see it, or touch it. It is not the Liberty Bell, Lexington, or Valley Forge. Rather, it is what the Liberty Bell rang out to proclaim, what the patriots defended at Lexington, and what Washington fought and prayed for at Valley Forge.

THE GOOD CITIZEN cherishes democratic values and bases his actions on them.

The good citizen gives allegiance to the ideals of democracy. He cherishes values which are consistent with the democratic way of life and bases his actions upon these values. He has respect for the dignity and worth of human personality. He has faith in man's ability to solve common problems through the process of thinking. He is concerned with the general welfare of all people; he believes that human culture belongs to all men. He is loyal to the principle of equality of opportunity for all people. All other qualities of the good citizen stem from and are a part of this primary quality.

The World-Minded American Citizen[6]

By WILLIAM G. CARR

Secretary, Educational Policies Commission
National Education Association

WILLIAM G. CARR

It is quite clear, is it not, that the responsibilities of good American citizenship change and develop with the years. New events in the history of our country have given emphasis to new aspects of good citizenship. Although certain traits form the permanent core of education for citizenship, a program to prepare our people for full discharge of their civic responsibilities must take account of modern developments, as well as of great and worthy traditions.

We are a nation born in revolution and nurtured along a frontier, a people not easily frightened by new ideas. Our greatest strength has been our ability to adapt our institutions to new needs without sacrifice of desirable elements of order and stability.

Among the many qualities which a good citizen of our country will possess today, certainly the ability to deal effectively with our new international responsibilities is of first importance. These new relationships were not sought by us. We hesitated a long while before accepting them. Even today, a minority of us would like to retreat from them. But most of us are now convinced, I think, that good American citizenship today demands a deep concern in world affairs. * * *

Surely it will hardly be argued today that a true patriot can turn his back upon the international duties and commitments of the people of the United States. We must all realize that the protection of ourselves and of our fellow citizens from the calamities of war are acts of the highest patriotism. We must realize, too, that a good standard of living and a free and satisfying life for ourselves and for our fellow citizens cannot be achieved without due recognition of the fact that America is only one of many nations which comprise the world. * * *

The world-minded American citizen realizes the dreadful danger in which civilization would be placed by another world war.—Without subscribing to the push-button theory of warfare, and without surrendering to an unrelieved despair, he still will understand the perils which another war would bring. He knows the general tendency of wars to become increasingly costly and increasingly destructive. * * *

No American wants war, but the well-educated, world-minded American will not assume that the world is free from war. On the contrary, he will be prepared to face, with sobriety, the unpleasant fact that, in a world divided sharply into two camps, each striving for position and advantage, one or more nations might decide to resort to war. The world-minded American citizen will know that, if this happens, strength will be his only hope of survival. * * *

The second characteristic of the world-minded American citizen is a desire for peace with liberty and justice.

[6] Excerpts from address to the Third National Conference on Citizenship, delivered Monday morning, May 17, 1948, in the Auditorium, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

Let no one suppose that the world-minded American citizen will accept peace at any price. There could be a peace of slavery, a peace where human rights are ignored, a peace of death. There could be temporary security in submission to injustice, security in stagnation, the security of a cage. These are not the peace and security which the world-minded American seeks. * * * Every invasion of freedom of thought and of speech in our country is a threat to the peace. Every extension of tyranny over the mind of man, anywhere in the world, is a danger to peace. * * *

The world-minded American knows that nothing in human nature makes war inevitable.—The dismal chant that "you can't change human nature" has been raised against every hopeful and progressive tendency in history. It was used to defend human slavery, to oppose the inauguration of free schools, to prove with exquisite logic that men never could rule themselves. But slavery is gone, public education is routine, and government by the people has not perished from the earth. The gloomy prophets were wrong before; they are wrong today. Some people say that there must always be wars. But careful students of psychology tell us that every normal person at birth possesses almost unlimited capacities of variable responses. Impulses can be regulated, directed, guided. * * *

The world-minded American sees the common humanity that underlies all differences of culture.—One of the greatest tasks of education, both for the achievement of a better United States and for the maintenance of peace is to avoid national and racial prejudice. We are not born with prejudices; they are thrust upon us. * * * A cross-section of any nation will reveal some citizens who are stingy and some who are generous, some with a sense of humor and some without, some who are honest and some who cheat, and so on. That is true of the people of the United States. It is true of the people of every other country. No nation or race has all the good traits or all the bad traits of our universal human nature. * * *

The world-minded citizen knows that nations must cooperate.—The present system of unlimited National sovereignity is really no system at all. It is anarchy at the international level. The well educated American, however, knows that although irresponsible nationalism is a threat to the peace, national loyalty is good. The modern nation represents a massive achievement in the widening area of unity and order. * * *

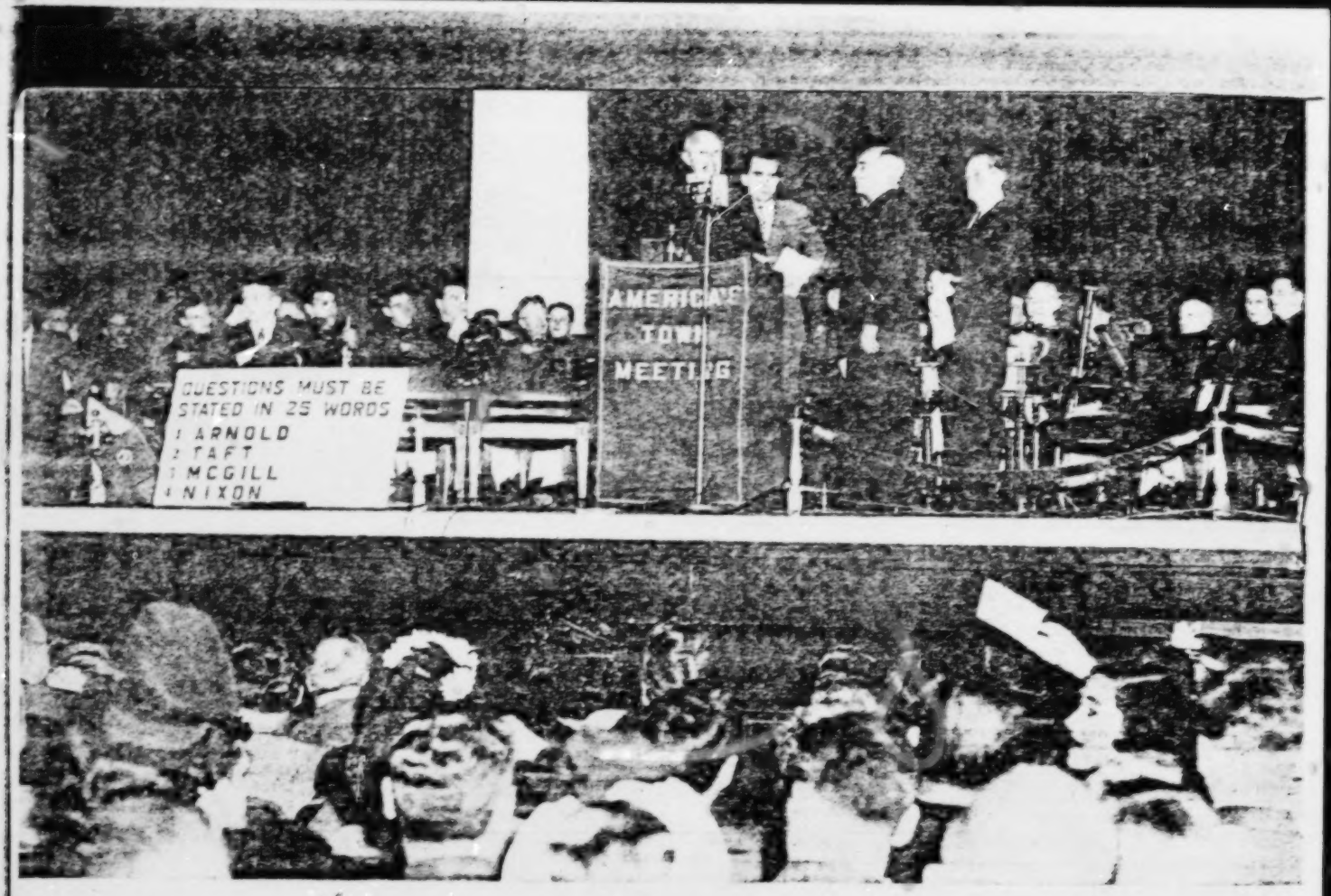
The world-minded American realizes how closely economic conditions are connected with good or bad international relations. Here is an area where domestic and foreign policy overlap. Run your mind over the major economic problems in our country today: labor relations, inflation, tax rates, business prosperity, employment, agricultural production, natural resources, and so on. Do we not find, if we pierce through the thin outer layer of these problems, that they have important international repercussions? * * *

The educated American is a humanitarian. To care deeply and sincerely about other people is a trait of which we need not be ashamed. However it may be under the ruthless regime of a dictatorship, a callous disregard for the sufferings of others is not a trait that we American admire or foster. Few Americans, however, are really aware of the poverty and misery to which most of the people of the world are condemned. Nothing in our experience permits us to understand the real conditions of life for millions of our fellow-men. Perhaps the hardest lesson for any of us to learn in this respect is that nations are composed of people. * * *

Finally, the world-minded American citizen has been educated to act in appropriate ways to secure the results he wants. * * * The American has a larger opportunity—and a greater responsibility—than the citizens of most of other nations. His influence is doubly strengthened—first by the power of the United States and second by the fact that our government is subject to the sovereign will of the people.

Some people say, "Any individual effort is a waste of time. The men in Washington will decide what to do." Yet in the final analysis the citizens do decide on our foreign policy—through the ballot box, through influence on elected or executive officials, through the expression of public opinion. But whether through personal acts or through government policy, through the ballot box or the expression of opinion, through political parties or through pressure groups, the ultimate test of good civic education is action which will move our country and the world nearer to our ideals.

My country is the world.
My flag, with stars impearled,
Fills all the skies.
All the round earth I claim.
Peoples of every name
And all inspiring fame
My heart would prize.
—Anonymous.



TOWN MEETING [5]

How Should Democracy Deal With Groups Which Aim To Destroy Democracy?

Moderator, George V. Denny, Jr.

Speakers

Robert A. Taft — Thurman W. Arnold

Richard M. Nixon — Ralph McGill

[5] The Broadcast of May 18, 1948, originated in Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C. from 8:30 to 9:30 P. M., E. S. T., over the American Broadcasting Network.

DR. DENNY

Good evening, neighbors, Attorney General Clark, and friends of the National Education Association. The seat of our democratic government is a most appropriate place to discuss tonight's subject. We've seen two types of totalitarianism at work in the world in our time. Both types, fascism and communism, drove to power by the use of the basic freedoms of democracy in order to destroy democracy.

We at Town Hall are vitally concerned by what we see going on in the world today, as one state after another loses its basic freedoms under the impact of totalitarian aggression—not by force of arms, but by the effective use and abuse of our democratic freedoms.

Naturally, we want to maintain and preserve free discussion in America. That's what Town Hall stands for and always has stood for. But events prompt us to inquire if there's not some distinction between a free and open discussion, between contestants who believe in maintaining the forum in which the discussion takes place, and a discussion in which one of the parties is committed to the destruction of the forum itself. If there is, what should we do about it?

In this discussion tonight, however, we are not considering the question of whether the Communist Party should be outlawed or not. We are well aware that the cloak of communism has many colors. After long years of struggle, we've found a way of settling disputes here in America between free men by means of law and reason. We call this democracy.

To protect the essentials of democracy, should we then allow those who destroy it the same rights and privileges as those who would preserve it?

Should we allow those individuals and groups who have voluntarily pledged their allegiance to a party whose first loyalty is to a foreign despotism the free use of freedoms they seek to destroy?

Tonight, we're seeking the counsel of a distinguished United States Senator who is also a leading candidate for the Republican nomination for President, a member of the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities, a former Assistant Attorney General, and an eminent American journalist on the question, "How Should Democracy Deal With Groups Which Aim To Destroy Democracy?"

* * *

JUDGE ARNOLD

I am aware that Communists are reaching into this country, trying to use our freedom of speech in order to destroy our freedoms. Trying to subvert our Constitutional guarantees for totalitarian ends. They think this will succeed because they believe freedom of speech is unworkable. * * *

There have been times in the past, like today, when we wavered in our confidence and faith in democracy, when we prosecuted dissenting groups with ideas which were contrary to our way of life.

Our Puritan oligarchy saw in the Quakers a threat against their church government. They passed savage legislation to drive Quakers from New England. The result was to strengthen the Quakers and to write a chapter in our history of which today we are ashamed.

After the Revolution, the Federalist Party passed the infamous Alien and Sedition Law aimed at suppressing agents of the French Government who were the Communists of that time. Instead of strengthening the Federalist Party, those laws helped to destroy it.

In the sixteenth century, Spain had a great empire spreading over the old world and the new. Elizabeth of England was a heretic. That to the Spaniards meant what communism today means to us. Elizabeth was conducting a cold war against Philip, using, like Stalin today, every device of chicanery and deception. She secretly commissioned privateers like Drake and Hawkins to prey on Spanish commerce, while publicly denying it.

Philip of Spain thought he had the answer. He believed that he could strengthen Spain by destroying heresy and so every time Elizabeth's privateers sank a Spanish ship or raided a Spanish town, more heretics were burned.

This solved no problems for Spain. Instead, it bled Spain white.

So today, when Hitler entered Czechoslovakia, we fired ten motion picture actors. Today, we are attacking our scientists, we are creating a paralyzing atmosphere of doubt and fear over this country. If we meet those who join a party to promote communism in democratic debate at the polls, we will not only beat them, we will reduce them to a crackpot rate. * * *

SENATOR TAFT

Friends of the radio audience, ladies and gentlemen. A feeling of uncertainty and lack of confidence prevails throughout the United States today, because the American people don't know whether or not we face a Third World War against communism.

The condition arises solely out of the obvious determination of the Russian Government to spread communism throughout the world until it dominates every country of the world. The great question mark today is whether the principles of free government will ultimately prevail or the principles of communism.

The Marshall Plan, unjustifiable from any economic standpoint, is proposing to spend billions to build up Western Europe more rapidly so that their soil may be less fertile for the spread of communism.

We have set up an American propaganda service to combat throughout the world the efficient communist propaganda.

We are aiding governments where a majority of the people desire to be free by giving them armaments against militant minorities of their own people financed from communist sources.

We intervened in the Italian elections, as we would never have done before the war, because the Russians had already intervened.

We are spending billions of the taxpayers' money to fight this war abroad. Surely we should do everything reasonable to discourage the spread of communism right here at home.

The threat of communist progress here is less perhaps than it was a year ago, because the popular feeling against Russian aggression is much stronger, but it is still here. The only reasonable conclusion from the facts is that the communist movement here and elsewhere is directed from Russia. Therefore, it is not only an attack aimed at the destruction of American principles of government but aimed at the freedom of the American people.

The only question we have to meet is the best method of acting to check that attack. I fully agree that we must not violate the Constitution. We do not want to abandon the principles of liberty found in the Bill of Rights lest we ourselves destroy, here at home, the very freedom we are trying to protect.

I do not think we can make it illegal to be a communist or to think communism or to talk communism if it does not go to the extent of advocating the seizure of the Government by violence.

Therefore, we cannot outlaw communism but certainly there are steps we can take. We can see that the Government itself does not employ Communists. We have passed laws to that effect.

We can refuse privileges to labor unions who elect communist officers as we have done in the Taft-Hartley Act. Mr. Denham of the National Labor Relations Board says this has proved to be one of the most effective anti-Red weapons in existence. The infiltration into labor unions is one of the easiest and most effective weapons used by communism, notably in Czechoslovakia.

In the third place, we can bring Communists out into the open so that the people are advised whether they are Communists or not. One of the most effective weapons of advancing communism is the concealment of the communist connections.

The un-American Activities Committee has done real service in letting the people know of Communists in influential positions so that we can form a more intelligent judgment of their writings and speeches. The Mundt-Nixon Bill pursues the same principle of bringing Communists into the open, by requiring communist organizations to register so that propaganda cannot be carried on without the people being advised of its source.

I have not studied all the details of the Mundt Bill. I have some criticism of the definition of communist political organizations and communist-front organizations. The definition may amount to such a badge of disloyalty as to drive all Communists underground and defeat the purpose of the bill. But I do feel that communist connection with a foreign government has such a strong presumption to support it today that registration under some definition should certainly be required.

In the last analysis, however, our success against communism in the world and our success against communism at home depend upon the education of the peoples of the world in the principles of free government.

We must make as strong a crusade for those principles throughout the world as the Communists are making for communism.

We have a better cause. We did it after 1776. The principles of liberty spread throughout the world until they dominated the thinking of a large section of the world throughout the nineteenth century. We must stop apologizing for our form of government. We must constantly seek to improve the condition of our people, but we must point out that already our system has succeeded in bringing about that improvement where totalitarianism has always failed.

We must review our faith in liberty and equality and justice under law. If we can bring this battle out into the open, on the basis of history and logic, our faith must, and will, prevail.

* * *

MR. McGILL

Democracy hasn't any reason to be afraid of its processes if it keeps them vital. We can best outlaw the Communist Party by fully participating in our own Government. The only new legislation I'd like to see is a law requiring every person to vote.

The bill proposed by the House Committee, quite sincerely and patriotically I know, seems to me an effort to get at communism through the side doors. It does not ban the party per se, but proposes severe penalties for any person or groups seeking to establish a totalitarian dictatorship.

That is a moot proposal. The Communists never establish a totalitarian dictatorship until they control the government. As Eastern Europe plainly demonstrates today, it is then too late for a law to operate.

The lie and the change of coats are communist techniques. They operate under many names and they ride many coat tails. The latest illustration is in the Wallace Third Party Campaign.

Law, for example, could not deal with the transparent communist use of the Wallace campaign as illustrated by the recent open letter exchange between Prime Minister Stalin and Mr. Wallace. It was obvious long ago that someone in the Wallace board of strategy has access to information from Soviet sources in this country.

Having used the Wallace campaign as a propaganda vehicle to present the Soviet Union as the only nation really seeking world peace, I think we may now expect the Communist Party to disavow Mr. Wallace, and thereby seek to get him more votes.

Our Federal Constitution and laws already existing prohibit certain activities of our citizens, such as treason, conspiracy, oaths of allegiance to foreign powers, and so on. It may be desirable to amplify these, but I doubt the necessity of it. The best weapon is to bring the Communists and their activities into the open.

The danger in outlawing legislation is that it always develops cracks in its own fence, and as more laws are added to plug them up, we soon deprive ourselves of our own rights in seeking to control a minority.

Under our constitution, the citizen has the right to advocate radical social changes or changes of government.

Perjury and the lie are communist weapons—I've already said so before. Therefore, the loyalty oath and the pledge of allegiance, it seems to me, would be made a mockery by this communist technique.

History is a good teacher. Let us call the roll of the communist despots who head the communist satellite states of Eastern Europe. We will find that every one of them at one time or another was in jail, when the Communist Party was outlawed in their countries as the then-existing governments sought to protect against communism with jail sentences.

Josip Broz, now Tito of Jugoslavia, was jailed by King Alexander's anti-Communist laws from 1928 until just before the Spanish Civil War began.

Georgi Dimitrov of Bulgaria, now the head of that state, was in jail for 10 years.

Ana Pauker is the leading Communist authority in Rumania. She has been in and out of jail since 1918. There are many others.

Our best defense is to get our own house in order. We cannot protect ourselves by becoming hysterical and becoming afraid of our own institutions and our own resources, and our own faith in our own democracy. * * *

CONGRESSMAN NIXON

I wish it were possible, tonight, to take the easy way of answering this question by simply saying, * * * that no action whatever should or needs to be taken against subversive groups in the United States except to tolerate them and let democracy stand on its own feet against its enemies.

There are those who sublimely contend that all we have to do is to make democracy work better than anything else, and then we shall have nothing to fear. I realize, incidentally, that many well-intentioned people, who call themselves liberal, indulge in this fantasy, but let them remember, however, that the liberal who wants to tolerate everything may wake up some day to find out that he himself is not being tolerated, but is liquidated. It has happened elsewhere and it can happen here.

We are faced today with a world conspiracy threatening our very existence as a free people. The ultimate objective of this conspiracy with respect to the United States is to overthrow our free American institutions in favor of a communist totalitarian dictatorship to be controlled from abroad. I submit that this threat cannot be adequately met with abject appeasement and toleration on the legislative front.

The Mundt-Nixon bill presently before the House is the legislative approach to the communist problem in the United States. It has been carefully drafted so as not to violate constitutional freedoms, but at the same time to be effective against the threat with which we are faced.

The bill carefully separates the subversive from those who with honest intentions disagree with the status quo on any issue in the United States.

In the legislative approach to the problem, which has been posed in tonight's question, we started from the premise that it is necessary to strike a balance between liberty to oppose our government and license to subvert our freedoms to the domination of a foreign conspiracy.

This legislative approach is not aimed—and this is important—at communism as an ideology, and I agree whole-heartedly with Mr. Arnold and Mr. McGill on that point, but at the subversive activities of Communists in the United States at which legislation can and should be directed.

The bill is aimed at accomplishing two major objectives:

1. It strikes at the unquestionably subversive activities of communist activity in the United States by making it a crime for any person to attempt, in any manner, to establish in the United States a totalitarian dictatorship under the domination of a foreign power. Both elements are necessary. This provision is based on the principle that no person should have the right to abuse constitutional freedoms by working for the establishment of a foreign-dominated dictatorship in the United States which would destroy the freedom of all but those in power.

2. The bill is aimed, as Senator Taft has explained, at exposing the foreign domination and character of the communist movement in the United States by requiring the Communist Party and organizations controlled by it to register with the Attorney General.

A carefully worked out procedure for administrative hearings and court reviews, incidentally, a great improvement over the present ex parte proceedings being followed by the Attorney General, is set up in the bill so as to protect innocent people and organizations from being affected by the registration requirements.

This provision, in effect, will let the American people know who the members of the Communist Party are, what organizations are dominated and controlled by them. Secrecy and fraud are essential

to the success of the communist movement. Once the foreign-dominated character of the movement is exposed, I am confident that the American people will overwhelmingly reject it.

From a study of the bill's major provisions, it will be seen that it does not attempt to outlaw communism as a theory. Ideas must be combatted with ideas and not with legislation, but we have, on the contrary, sought to strike a body blow at the American cadre of the foreign-directed communist conspiracy. We believe that if its subversive activities are prosecuted, its false fronts exposed, and its foreign assistance and direction cut away, the movement in the United States, standing alone for what it is, will be overwhelmingly defeated in the open market place of political ideas.

Far from injuring true liberal and progressive movements, the enactment and enforcement of this bill will be an outstanding contribution to such causes in the United States. Every liberal cause which the Communists touch is irreparably damaged by them, and if Communists are spotlighted for the foreign agents that they are, truly liberal and progressive groups will be able successfully to resist communist efforts to subvert humanitarian causes to their own ends.

I do not contend that legislation alone is enough to meet the threat of communism to democracy. The bill now before Congress is not the complete answer to the communist problem in the United States. Education without question is a powerful weapon at our disposal in this fight.

The American people must be made aware of the true character, aims, and techniques of the world communist conspiracy and of the great qualities of our own constitutional system of government. With this knowledge we shall build a mighty bulwark against this threat.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE GOOD CITIZEN is aware of and takes responsibility for meeting basic human needs.

The good citizen is aware of the importance of meeting basic human needs and is concerned with the extension of the essentials of life to more individuals. All people have certain basic human needs; the need to be free from aggression, domination, or exploitation; the need for love and affection; the need to belong to groups and to be accepted by others; the need to take responsibility in cooperation with others; the need for a level of living which provides for adequate health, housing, and recreation; the need to have high standards of spiritual, ethical, and moral values. The failure to meet these basic human needs may result in the development of maladjustments which increase the intensity of social problems.

A Practical Experiment in Citizenship Training On the Local Level[1]

By Hon. ROBERT G. SIMMONS, Chief Justice, Supreme Conrt of Nebraska

HON. ROBERT G. SIMMONS

The whole program is bottomed upon the proposition that good government begins at home, for there the reservior of political power rests in America. It is designed to assist the schools in a program of training for adult citizenship and to emphasize the fact that the strength and stability of the state rests upon the strength and stability of the local units of government.

The elections held in the schools bring to each student a practical understanding of the democratic process of selecting public servants, and to those who were candidates a practical demonstration of the means of offering services to the public. To those elected to offices it gives the opportunity of participating in practical clinics in matters of government. They not only see how the machinery runs, but they become a part of it. They receive first-hand knowledge of the powers, duties, and importance of county office. They begin to understand the dignity of public service in a county office. They find out how county government directly touches their lives and those of their family and community. They have the opportunity to develop leadership in civic matters. They begin the building of an acquaintance with others in the county under auspicious circumstances.

For the schools it offers the basis of a county activity where the students meet not in competition but in cooperation in preparation for the duties of citizenship.

But that is not all. It has already been demonstrated that these clinics in county government have caused parents to become interested in and acquainted with their local government and officials. Boys and girls have been teaching fathers and mothers!

County officials have benefited not only as a result of a better understanding by the public of the importance of their work and their office, but have in fact learned also from this program and the contacts and suggestions that have come to them from the youth of their county.

Teachers of civil government have benefited, for they, too, have watched and supervised elections, visited the court house, been behind the counters at the desks and in the courts. They have seen the government about which they have been teaching and know better whereof they speak. • • •

We believe that we are developing in Nebraska another program to aid in the building of a better citizenship for tomorrow. Our country tomorrow will be what those in our schools today make it.

[1] Excerpts from address to the Third National Conference on Citizenship, delivered Tuesday noon, May 18, 1948, in the Hall of Nations, Washington Hotel, Washington, D. C.

We should furnish them good tools and knowledge of their use and an incentive to use them properly. This program is designed to aid in that accomplishment.

We have made mistakes and have had blank spots in the program. That was to be expected. We are contacting every participating student, teacher, official, and citizen. They, with good American frankness, are pointing out the mistakes, the weaknesses, and the need for additions to the program followed this first year. The encouraging thing is that without exception they urge us to go ahead, and in some cases have said we could not stop the program if we would.

Our problem now is not to persuade other counties to follow the program, but rather to hold them back until we can fully develop the organization upon which a Statewide, every-county program can be based. We now vision the time about three years hence when we will have the staff, the trained personnel, and the tradition behind this movement so that we can conduct these clinics in every county every year. When that time comes, it will mean that every graduate of every high school in Nebraska will have had three years' experience in the election process, and three years of study of the practical functioning of local government. There will be literally thousands of our young citizens who will have been on the inside of their court house and know why it is there and its importance in the maintenance of our system of government for free men. For them public service in county office will be an exalted service. Literally tens of thousands of fathers and mothers will likewise understand and come to so view their local government.

We in Nebraska believe in this system of government that is ours; we desire to strengthen it where its power lies—at home. We shall be happy to tell any of you more about it, to aid you in adapting it to the conditions of your State, and to have your aid in improving it, not only in Nebraska, but in this America which is and must remain ours.

THE GOOD CITIZEN possesses and uses knowledge, skills, and abilities necessary in a democratic society.

The good citizen possesses and uses knowledge, skills, and abilities to facilitate in reading, listening, discussing, and observing. He uses these skills and abilities in order to gain understanding of the present structure and functioning of society, the working principles of representative government; the impact of pressure groups; the operation of the economic system; the social stratification of the population; and the relationship of all these to the complex social heritage. With knowledge, skills, and abilities as a basis, the good citizen needs to become more proficient in civic action.

Citizenship in Action in the Local Community[8]

By MRS. RHEA M. ECKEL, Executive Secretary,
New York State Citizens' Council, Inc.

MRS. RHEA M. ECKEL

* * * Our most compelling assignment is to bring into existence now a way of life that means, "The People, Yes!" But we won't do the job unless we find some specific, effective techniques that are practical in our neighborhoods, instead of having merely theoretical appeal for a delightful group of people like ourselves.

* * * Let's find out whether we concur that the focal points of constructive work must be the places where we live. Then, let's appraise some of the major challenges to communities today, for I believe we can agree on some basic priorities. Finally, let's look at some methods that work, let's view some concrete achievements—some successful methods, which taken singly in separate cities, towns, and villages may not seem particularly impressive, but when taken together add up to a democracy on the march.

What about the communities we live in? Are they important? Shall our strategy be concerned directly with them, or with remote problems? I believe that we start where we live. To otherwise is to engage in an unrealistic form of social escapism. Hometown USA is the place where gains are made, where state and national progress are recorded. Hometown USA is the laboratory where the voluntary efforts of men and women create the pattern of democratic living. It is the place where democracy can function in a practical way. * * *

We must agree with the farsighted man who said, "In the last analysis, it is in the American community that the fight for political freedom will be won or lost."

If communities, then, are central, if they are the places where our strength and resources must be brought to bear, what challenges must communities meet? What areas deserve priority?

I would place high the development of a constantly evolving community conscience whereby each person sees himself as a citizen of the national and world community as well as of his immediate home town. The good neighbor, the efficient planner, cleans his own back yard well, but in the process, he has regard for the people who live around him. It is a conscience that refuses to tolerate man's inhumanity to man, whether that inhumanity is expressed in terms of economic greed, racial and religious bigotry, or merely in an unthinking social snobbishness. It is a conscience that knows with John Donne, "For whom the bell tolls." But it is a community conscience which views askance destructive criticism that has as motivation the creation of confusion and division among population groups.

Intelligent planning and land use must be high on any priority list for citizen action. In many cities our environment for the dead is superior, while millions live out of touch with grass, trees,

[8] Excerpts from address to the Third National Conference on Citizenship, delivered Tuesday noon, May 18, 1948, in the Hall of Nations, Washington Hotel, Washington, D. C.

and space for play and recreation. We have developed cities without planning. We fail to recognize that no planning is the worst kind of planning —not knowing that we must control land use or that megopelis, to use Mumford's word, will destroy us.

We have widened and improved some streets; we have built some high-speed boulevards; we have set apart some land for parks and playgrounds; we have erected some monumental buildings. But our highways and boulevards are in many cases viewed more as means of escape from boredom and ugliness than as adjuncts to a well-integrated community home; and our parks and playgrounds are considered islands of refuge from city life. True, we have public and private planning agencies. They are encouraging evidence of a growing awareness by the citizen of his interest and his sense of community housekeeping. But no greater challenge confronts the citizen of today than to replan and rebuild his community to provide comfort, convenience, and beauty.

Foremost among the problems presented by the physical community is that of shelter. We can no longer afford to regard housing as a mere business enterprise, or, in our working-class sections, as mere storage yards for the labor element in the industrial system. It is a matter of the most vital community concern, whether in its form of undertaking it be private or public. Great areas of our city are nothing but festering slums. They are rotten, ripe for demolition and re-development, especially since they occupy much of the useful land we have. In every conceivable way they are community liabilities. No one defends them, everyone is ashamed of them; there is disagreement only on the method of replacing them with decent and well-planned neighborhoods.

All too often technically sound plans have gathered dust because we, as citizens, have not participated in planning. We have been planned at—planning has lacked the one essential dynamic, the continual involvement of the people who have a stake in the execution of the plan.

No citizen can afford to overlook the challenges presented by an educational system. Equality of opportunity in our land includes equality of opportunity for education. The schools in our communities are among the most powerful influences in moulding the quality of American citizenship. There must be no gap between the citizen and the school administrator and teacher.

In this age of social change, in our constantly developing society, the school is a central force in community life. We must not be so concerned with provision of physical facilities for education that we neglect the program that is taught inside the school building.

Do all children have an equal chance to be educated? If the answer is "yes" in your community, is it so in others? It must be. We need to give thought to education in a world which grows closer and closer to us. Our children will work for peace and security with those in other communities, other states, and other lands. As we plan for Food and Agriculture and Commerce in a world sense, so must we plan for education on the international front. * * *

The dislocations are present, the tasks are at hand, the need for intelligent solutions is great—How can we do the job?

One method that works is the organization of a citizen-community council. * * *

But a council is no panacea. Unless it works with existing groups—service clubs, voters leagues, veterans organizations, and so on—it will fail. And gains can be made wherever and whenever members of any organization, any educational institution, or any governmental agency, view communities in broad perspective.

Perhaps the key to the whole subject is leadership. The war years drove home the blunt fact that each of us has a distinct and important place to fill in the national and world picture. We played our individual parts to win the war. We must continue to do so to win the peace. The role of the United States in the community of nations demands, to repeat, the best of each of us—the best leadership, the best service, the best contributions of our talents—because these are perhaps the most challenging times in American history.

America could never have been built, our democracy could never have been successful without the leadership and services of millions of citizen volunteers. People who saw what needed to be done and did it made the United States a great nation. And today, volunteers, in teamwork with professionals in all fields, can and will provide the power to maintain our greatness.

We know that communities have leadership resources which have not been tapped. We know leaders can be trained, for the New York State Citizens' Council and other groups have trained them successfully. * * *

* * * we have said:

First.—Our home towns are central—they are the key to an intelligent social strategy.

Second.—The challenges to communities are great —they lie, for example, in planning and land use, in education, health and welfare, they are found wherever the people are.

Third.—There are effective methods for attacking problems—the organization of local citizens councils, the utilization and expansion of resources of groups like the New York State Citizens' Council, the drawing together in communities of resources of research, education, and administration, the development of intelligent leadership; in short, the broadening of citizen participation in public affairs.

A Free and Faithful Citizen[9]

By DONALD R. RICHBERG

DONALD R. RICHBERG

The men and women of tomorrow will be forced to choose. They will become the free and faithful citizens of a government which they control, or the fear-ridden subjects of a government which controls them. * * *

It is a time when we may well refrain from boasting, and candidly consider our weaknesses as citizens. We have a great common heritage; but if we are too selfish, too short-sighted and to self-indulgent to defend it by common sacrifice and equal devotion to a common cause, we will lose that great common heritage.

We will not long remain free citizens if we are not faithful citizens. * * *

What are some of the principles of good citizenship which we often fail to follow?

One is the principle of obedience to law.

Another is the principle that a free society must be a self-disciplined society.

Another is the principle that a free government can be sustained only by a free economy. * * *

Why is it that we, American citizens, fail so frequently to obey the laws that we enact?

* * * our inbred love of individual liberty permits us to make a virtue of a disobedience that we should regard as a sin.

We know that traffic laws are written to make highway travel safe. But, we foolishly enjoy substituting individual judgment for a rule of law, if there is no policeman watching us.

This brings us to a second cause of national lawlessness.

In order to maintain the democratic quality of local self-government and to preserve individual liberty, we have devised a complicated system of local, state, and national laws, all under the dominion of constitutional laws that limit majority powers and establish minority rights. * * *

The effect of frequent conflict and uncertainty in the laws is to encourage the disregard or evasion of any legal rule that might hamper a citizen in doing what he wished to do. * * *

Thus we come to a third cause of national lawlessness; and that is a deep difference of opinion among Americans as to the extent to which our government should regulate the daily life and work of our citizens.

There are millions of men and women in the United States today who earnestly believe that a modern government should accept a large measure of a social responsibility for the welfare of all citizens. * * *

[9] Excerpts from address at Third National Conference on Citizenship, delivered Wednesday morning, May 19, 1948, in the Auditorium, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

The great majority of our citizens who have this idealistic concept * * * believe that by a combination of government enterprises and government regulation of private enterprises, the government can lead us into the promised land of state socialism, without exercising the tyrannical authority of a communist dictatorship. Nothing is more alluring than the prospect of having one's cake after eating it. How satisfactory it would be to have a benevolent despotism insure every man a good living and at the same time his individual liberty in the making and spending of his income! It is a childish concept of a perfect government. * * *

Those of us who are resolved to remain the free and faithful citizens of our republic must understand, not only that the laws of the land should be obeyed, but also that a free society must be a self-disciplined society.

If only the presence of a policeman prevented murder or robbery or mob rule, our lives and property would not be safe and our freedom would be always shadowed by fear. It is not fear of punishment, but respect for law, that controls the conduct of a large majority in a free society. Individuals or minorities who only yield obedience to a policeman's club are not faithful citizens. They are not worthy of the freedom which they abuse.

If a majority were as lawless as a minority of our citizens are from time to time, we would face a choice between anarchy, which could not be endured, and the iron rule of a militarized government, which would preserve order by severe restraints on individual freedom. * * *

This word "democracy" is being perverted to such base uses nowadays that it would be well for every free and faithful citizen to have a clear understanding of what a democratic government should do for him and what it should not do. If he understands that our democracy should guarantee him individual liberty and equality of opportunity to pursue happiness according to his ambitions and to achieve his ambitions according to his abilities, he will be satisfied with our democratic constitutional form of government.

Equality is not something that you are born with. It is something that you may create. You may be well born and degrade yourself to an equality with rogues. You may be poorly born and lift yourself to an equality with great servants of mankind.

The founders of our government were democrats because they believed in individual liberty, but not in the liberty of men to oppress their fellow men. So they sought to safeguard the liberties of the weak as well as the strong and to protect the essential freedom of individuals and minorities from suppression by majority rule. And, thus they created equality of opportunity. But they left men free to think and speak and worship as they pleased, free to associate and to make agreements with whom they pleased, free to like or to dislike things and people, regardless of what things and people other men like and dislike. They left men free to acquire and use private property, which is essential to individual liberty. * * *

EDITOR'S NOTE: *It is with deep regret that we annonuce our inability to provide a digest of one of the most important and thought-provoking addresses of the Conference. The address of Professor T. V. Smith, of the University of Chicago, at the dinner Monday evening, May 17, was delivered without notes. As the Conference Committee had not realized a recorder would be necessary for this meeting, no record was made of Dr. Smith's most worthwhile address.*

A call is again being sent out to members of the Conference who attended the dinner in the hope that some one may have taken down notes on the talk. If such can be obtained, they will be incorporated in the printed proceedings of the Conference.

Acknowledgment is made to the Detroit Citizenship Education Study for the "Five Qualities of the Good Citizen."

Thumbnail Reports of Discussion Groups[10]

By RUTH CUNNINGHAM

Associate Professor, Teachers College
Columbia University

RUTH CUNNINGHAM

1. World-Minded American Citizen

* * *

What kind of a person is a world-minded citizen? How can we achieve a world-minded citizenry?

* * *

We believe world education involves (1) understanding the realities of war; (2) an understanding toward what technology is leading us; (3) understanding our economic, social, and cultural interdependence. But we must recognize that there is a range of thinking of what we mean by world-mindedness from mere awareness to responsible action. * * * Each citizen must ask "Where am I on the scale?" What do we want to be when we say we want to be "world-minded"? What is a world-minded citizen? * * *

We seem to agree, in general, that the world-minded citizen must think in bigger terms than mere nationalism. * * *

But maybe the "how" of developing world-mindedness is even more important than the "what."

* * *

Job No. 1, it seems, in the minds of all people in all groups, taking priority in time and importance, is ridding ourselves of fear—fear of change, fear that the other fellow will get ahead of us, fear that leads to witch hunting, fear that leads to narrow nationalism, fear that leads to hate, fear that leads to war. And no less important, perhaps, we must rid ourselves of fear that leads to apathy, to an idea that nothing matters. We must rid ourselves of the fear that leads to an attitude that it isn't worth the struggle. Fear, by whatever name, is, in our modern world, death in disguise. * * *

Job No. 2 is development of better means to communication. First, we need to communicate our values. Even more important, perhaps, we need to find means to achieve values jointly and cooperatively—democratically. We need to get together, as nations, in setting standards of what we mean by liberty and justice. We need to think together.

* * * We, as Americans, must understand the world, and we want the world to understand us.

We would like other nations to know about our Constitution, and other papers that are basic to American life. We would like them to know our customs and ideals. We would like to know more about the basic ideas and ideals of others. We must know more about the basic ideas and ideals of others, if there is to be joint thinking. Beyond this, there is a need to know each other as people. * * *

[10] Excerpts from reports of the Third National Conference on Citizenship, Washington, D. C., May 16-19, 1948.

One way to better human relations is to provide programs of exchange—exchange of teachers, members of youth groups, specialists in many fields; exchange of ideas; exchange of correspondence; exchange of films, of radio programs, of newspapers. * * *

A third problem, emphasized by all groups, had to do with the need to start at home in developing world-mindedness. Let's work in our own backyards. We must exchange ideas among organizations such as those represented here. We must organize action to achieve basic human rights. We must eliminate discrimination. We must learn to solve our group relations within our own communities, if we are to be world-minded citizens.

We have available to us at home many avenues. We have places to work; in our schools we can provide equal opportunity if we try. We must provide this equal opportunity. We must provide an opportunity for youngsters in schools to learn to face issues and learn how to handle them. In our communities, through women's clubs, PTA's, labor groups and other citizens' groups, we must learn to face our problems. * * *

Let's remember this: The laboratory for developing world-mindedness is our own home town. We can start at home and make it work. * * *

"Citizenship must include all of us," say most of the groups. Citizenship education is not merely for children and youth. It is for you, for me, for our neighbors. * * *

There was some discussion, in several groups, concerning gifts and relief to people in underprivileged countries. "It is important now," they said. "It is a stopgap. But for the long-term job, after we meet the immediate emergencies, let's remember that gifts will not be as important as reciprocal thinking." * * *

"Let's not stop with this conference," say many groups. "This is only a beginning." Each person at this Conference becomes a catalytic agent in his organization and area of work. * * *

2. Basic Human Rights and Attendant Responsibilities

* * * Today we have been examining * * * our communities, our nation * * * and have found them not wholly problem-free. Some of the problems we have to face, you say, are these: Too often we talk a nice language while we practice a dirty creed, a creed of intolerance and discrimination. We have in this country, whether we like to admit it or not, both first-class and second-class citizens. We shall never be truly a democracy as long as we force a second-class citizenship on some. No citizen can be truly first-class until all are first-class. Democracy is not worthy of the name unless it is a democracy for everyone, with equal rights, equal privileges, equal responsibilities for all.

The fault, you say, is not always in one direction; both minorities and majorities contribute to this difficulty, and both must mend their fences.

The Federal Government can help. The major function of the Federal Government, you say, is in assuring human rights in ways such as providing money to assist in equalization, political equality, adequate education for all, health, and alleviation of any group which is suffering from oppression. The Government must set standards and patterns of action.

It is important that we have strong national leadership and national action, but national action can't stand unless it has support from state and local organizations and individuals, and that means you and me. * * *

Many groups discussed the relative merits of legislation or education. Should we try to solve our problems by legislation or by education? It isn't "either or," it seems, but rather, "both and." * * *

Perhaps there is a greater force than legislation in education, and perhaps there is a greater force than either legislation or education in participation. Participation, you say, is the keynote in the development of citizenship education for the protection and extension of human rights. You cannot talk people into it; you have to work them into it. * * *

A basic method of attaining democracy is the method of pooled judgment. We believe a major method in resolving our more difficult social problems can be through the exchange of the ideas and the judgments of many people. This meeting, says one group, is an example of working together to achieve pooled judgment. Let us spread this type of problem-solving, they say, to organizations in our own communities, meeting together in small groups to solve our problems through pooled judgment.

People have to learn to take responsibility. We learn through practice. Let's help our children learn responsibility through having a chance to practice it. * * *

We decided, says one group, that this nation should practice equality of opportunity within the continental limits of the United States before it places our democracy on a pedestal to be emulated by other nations. * * *

3. Citizenship in Action in the Local Community

Idea No. 1: Each community is interdependent with every other. That is another cliche that sounds simple but scares you when you begin to examine it. No longer is any one community an island, independent of other communities. Yesterday, what happens in Centerville was all that mattered in Centerville, but today, what happens in Washington, New York, Paris, London, Moscow, Tokyo, and Kukamonga makes a difference in the world. * * *

Idea No. 2: Let's be sure we know where we are going and what we are trying to do. Well, who is to decide where we are going? Who knows what we ought to try to do? The answer is: We do; we, all the little people in all the little situations which, combined, become the big, significant forces of our country. We, the people, know that sound progress comes only when we work out our own solutions. * * *

Idea No. 3: Cooperation means everybody. We can't name all the "everybodys" but some are so important, or are so frequently overlooked, that we will give them special attention. Everybody includes youth, boys and girls who are growing up, who are now forming habits and attitudes of citizenship. Let's see that youngsters get in on our cooperation. Everybody includes new Americans—people who are citizens not merely as an accident of birth but because they chose to be Americans. A hearty handshake and a word of welcome are nice, but such gestures are not enough. New Americans must be in on our cooperation. Everybody includes minorities, people who live on the wrong side of the tracks, people who say "he don't" and "ain't," people who have as much money as we wish we had, people who have more power than we think they ought to have. All minorities must be in on the planning. Everybody includes people who don't agree with each other. It is an important job for us to see to it that such people, such groups, have an opportunity to meet each other face to face and talk out their differences. Everybody includes Joe and Helen and Bill and Sue, the timid people who may feel that they have little to contribute, not realizing that we need them; we must have their help if there is to be community action. Everybody includes many people with good sense and good ideas who don't know how to express themselves. It is our job to see to it that the inarticulate are heard. Everybody includes you and me, who may, because we go to meetings such as this and talk a lot about citizenship, believe we are thereby fulfilling our duties. Far from it. Going to meetings like this increases our obligations, as it increases our awareness of the magnitude and importance of the jobs to be done. Yes, cooperation means everybody.

Idea No. 4: We must find the people who can best help us to get where we want to go and do what we want to do. In other words, we must find our leaders; and finding conscientious competent leaders is one of the major tasks of democratic people, and one of the most difficult jobs.

There are several concepts we talked about yesterday that may help us. (a) The job is not one of finding the leader, but of finding leaders. We need many people to lead in terms of their individual competence and their individual situations. (b) There is, almost without exception, a far greater resource of leaders than we realize. The problem is not so much the lack of leaders as it is lack of skill in locating leaders. (c) Leaders, particularly professional leaders (which includes many of us), tend to cling jealously to their area of leadership, rather than use their influence to develop leadership in others. (d) Leaders, particularly leaders in influential organizations (and that includes many of us), tend to use their leadership to further the particular organization, rather than to lead people in ways that are important to them. (e) Leaders, good leaders, emerge when sound group process is applied to the solution of real problems. Predetermined "fair-haired boys" are seldom good leaders. (f) Many of these ideas about leaders and leadership tend to be irritating to us, the leaders, but we must be big enough to recognize their validity if we are to be true leaders of people.

Idea No. 5: Talk alone may be lots of fun, but it doesn't get the job done. We were discussing yesterday the topic, "Citizenship in Action in the Local Community." In all groups, you agree that a major word here is "Action": doing something about citizenship. It means that when we leave this meeting today and go to our communities, we are obliged to do, or to help someone else do, a better job. It is harder to get people to work on some types of problems than on others. Examples of some tough ones are housing, segregation, aid to education and wage negotiation. But some of the toughest problems are among the most important. It won't be easy, but let's see if we can't get together even in matters such as these. Words without deeds are pretty hollow affairs.

Idea No. 6: We must practice what we preach. No matter how unpleasant it is, look in the mirror. This process of self-examination is no fun and it isn't easy. But we must undertake it if we are to fulfill our citizenship duty.

Idea No. 7: We must know where we have been, and be aware of how we have moved from there to here, if we are to be wise in planning where we are to go next. Communities must learn to assess their programs and their leaders, and the best assessment is achieved through self-evaluation. Sometimes outside help can be useful in achieving a view of ourselves as others see us, but the value of the assessment lies in our willingness and ability to make use of objective evaluations, even though they are uncomfortable, and they often are.

As we view ourselves, we must learn to see our communities whole, not merely as segmented programs of various organizations. The degree of effective orchestration of agencies in a community is an important measure of the merit of each agency, as well as the community program as a whole. * * *

Breath-Taking Moments and Challenging Hours

By RICHARD BARNES KENNAN, Secretary, and LUCILE ELLISON, Administrative Assistant, National Education Association Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education

RICHARD KENNAN

"We have taken a tuck in time; we have put a pleat in space; if we are to live comfortably in this tight world, we must let out the old seams of our thinking."

The 27 discussion groups of the Third National Conference on Citizenship—meeting three times to discuss—

"The world-minded American citizen,"

"Basic human rights and attendant responsibilities," and

"Citizenship in action in the local community"—let out some seams in their thinking. Within the pattern of democracy, these groups considered the problems of living at peace in a world where, in the words of President Truman to the conference, "It is no farther today from here to the center of China than it used to be from Washington to Baltimore."

The conference, with its more than 800 delegates representing approximately 400 large national organizations, found inspiration in choice speakers and in colorful pageantry and music. The President of the United States and the Attorney General both spoke to the conference; the Army and Marine bands played for its sessions; the American Legion massed and retired colors; the DAR honored the delegates with its breath-taking moment of flag-unfurling at Constitution Hall; and America's Town Meeting of the Air moved to Washington under the sponsorship of the conference for its weekly nationwide broadcast.

However, the sessions of the conference that the delegates declared they liked best and from which they found most inspiration were the discussion groups in which they themselves participated. Although broken into 27 small sections, all groups discussed each of the conference topics simultaneously; and, over a period of three half-days, all groups discussed all three subjects. Major outcomes are probably best summarized in recommendations of the conference concerning the enjoyment and feeling of accomplishment that delegates experienced in these small groups.

(a) We like having young people at this conference, high school and college boys and girls. We have enjoyed them so much, we think it is so important that they be here, we have learned so much from them, that we hope there will be more of them at future conferences.

(b) We have liked the opportunity for discussion in small groups. We have liked our discussions so much, we believe in this method so strongly, we have learned so much through discussion, that we recommend more time for such discussions at future conferences.

(c) We are so pleased with the thinking we have done, we are so impressed with our achievements, that we recommend that reports of this conference be widely distributed to groups throughout the country. Such wide distribution of the conference reports would not only help us to share our thinking with others, but further, and perhaps more important, would indicate what can be accomplished in a conference of this nature.

(d) We have enjoyed this conference so much, it has been so meaningful to us, that we recommend strongly that it be repeated; that similar conferences be sponsored for regional groups; and that

each organization represented here employ similar procedures in National, State, and local divisions of their organizations.

Whether they discussed world-mindedness or community action, the emphasis of speakers and delegates alike was constantly on participation.

Dr. Ruth Cunningham, Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University, did a magnificent job of reporting to the conference. Said she in her final report:

"Three faiths have we: legislation, education, participation, and the greatest of these is participation. Participation means all of us, everyone, regardless of faith, race, sex, ethnic background, regardless of nationality, get together. Participation means that the world gets together to solve its problems. This is an ideal to which we hold with strength and tenacity."

"The soundest kind of patriotism can see beyond the years and beyond the borders of our own country," said William G. Carr, Associate Secretary, National Education Association, and keynote speaker on the first topic. "We believe that such a patriot is a far better citizen than the man or woman who is ignorant and unconcerned about the relations of our country with the rest of the world."

A part of our acceptance of the responsibility of citizenship is the according of basic human rights to all. Dr. Cunningham brought this need into sharp focus in her report on the second discussion topic:

"Too often we talk a nice language while we practice a dirty creed, a creed of intolerance and discrimination. We have in this country, whether we like to admit it or not, both first-class and second-class citizens. We shall never be truly a democracy as long as we force a second-class citizenship on some. No citizen can be truly first-class until all are first-class. Democracy is not worthy of the name unless it is a democracy for everyone, with equal rights, equal privileges, equal responsibilities for all.

"The fault, you say, is not always in one direction; both minorities and majorities contribute to this difficulty, and both must mend their fences."

And all must have a stake in planning as well as execution. Mrs. Rhea M. Eckel, Executive Secretary, New York State Citizens' Council, Inc., third keynote speaker, declared:

"All too often technically sound plans have gathered dust because we, as citizens, have not participated in planning. We have been *planned at* —planning has lacked the one essential dynamic, the continual involvement of the people who have a stake in the execution of the plan."

That the conference brought challenge and inspiration to hundreds of people was everywhere apparent. What will happen in planning and execution, in "letting out our seams of thinking" in ever widening circles, we shall know in the months and years ahead.

We Evaluate The Third National Conference

Church Groups

It was a very great privilege to attend the Third National Conference on Citizenship.

The meetings were inspiring. * * *

★ ★ ★

You and your associates are to be congratulated for your splendid approach to this important problem.

The Bench and Bar

The attendance at this conference was one of the thrills of my life. It was an inspiration. Every person who spoke revealed he had knowledge of the subject he was discussing. Each speech given revealed some local color which was manifest in the thoughts presented by the speaker. The whole program gave a view of the United States of America as it is and revealed clearly the heavy responsibilities resting upon each citizen.

Your system of presenting is an excellent method of getting ideas and producing thought. The leaders you have selected are real leaders and as such have something to say worthwhile and they said it. I am looking forward with great interest to the final report that is being prepared by the printer for distribution. * * *

★ ★ ★

Since my arrival home several of my friends who are interested in citizenship and its responsibilities have come to my chambers and asked me what took place in Washington. They seem to be very pleased with what you and the Attorney General are doing. Should the next meeting be at Chicago I feel quite sure there will be citizens from South Bend in attendance. * * *

★ ★ ★

The contribution of the Department of Justice was outstanding, and without question, the entire conference was a contribution to the well-being of the country. The few young people who had the privilege of being there were particularly impressed, and I think we should make every effort to have the message reach greater numbers of our young people. * * *

I appreciated the high privilege of participating in the Third Annual Conference on Citizenship and heartily congratulate you upon your fine sponsorship and leadership in that highly important event.

Great good has emanated from those deliberations and you merit the generous praise of the American people.

State and Local Educational Groups

Since returning from the Third National Conference on Citizenship in Washington, I have decided that "Better Citizenship" would make an excellent theme for many of our Local Branch meetings in the Pennsylvania State Education Association. * * *

★ ★ ★

I should like to say that in my opinion the Conference was a great success and that I came home very much inspired and determined to do whatever I could to promote better citizenship. * * *

★ ★ ★

It was a pleasure to attend and to be a participant in the Third Annual Conference on Citizenship. You and your fellow committee members are indeed to be congratulated. Certainly everything was done to insure not only a profitable but also a most pleasant stay for the delegates. Particularly do I think that you are to be congratulated on getting together representatives of very diverse groups, and yet people who were all sincerely interested in the field of citizenship. * * *

★ ★ ★

In closing I would like to mention the point that I thought the conference was a complete success and very well planned, and when reporting to President Creese I stressed the importance of college and student representation at future conferences, location permitting. * * *

★ ★ ★

I wish to thank you for the kind invitation to attend this meeting. It was, in my humble opinion, one of the best and most worthwhile meetings I have ever attended.

I assure you I shall do all I can to carry out the suggestions made in this community and state. * * *

★ ★ ★

Like my fellow citizens, I had never before delved too deeply into the importance of establishing ways and means for more effective citizenry in our country. I must say, that I found the panel discussions very helpful and I shall make it my bound duty to carry the message of the conference to all the groups and organizations with which I am connected.

The interest shown by Attorney General Clark, in the conference, impressed me deeply.

Other Organizations

I want to thank you on behalf of World Republic for your kindness in asking us to participate in the Third National Citizenship Conference. We feel that it was a great success and hope that we were able to contribute something in a humble way.

The conference flowed smoothly and was one of the most brilliantly planned and executed conferences we had ever participated in. If we may be of service to you in any way in the future we would be honored to have you ask us to help you. * * *

★ ★ ★

* * * We enjoyed and gained much from the diverse program.

We should like to do as much as we can this year on a similar program under a lecture series. * * *

★ ★ ★

The Third National Conference of Citizenship was of great interest to me; I especially enjoyed the small discussion groups as there was the opportunity to get acquainted with people.

Let me congratulate you on the organization and administration of the conference. The details of the meetings were very well handled. * * *

★ ★ ★

I found the conference one of the most stimulating I have ever attended. I am sharing the material with members of our agency. * * *

★ ★ ★

I take this opportunity to thank you for inviting me to attend the Third National Conference on Citizenship and to commend you highly for your personal attention and following through the many details necessary to make for any conference, one of success. * * *

★ ★ ★

Although we did not accomplish all we would have envisioned at the conference, I feel that the result will have far reaching effect on our citizenry and that we made a great contribution to the entire world by having met, exchanged ideas, and counseled with each other. * * *

Youth

All sessions proved to be enlightening and very valuable, and I assure you that I will endeavor to implement the suggestions promulgated with the organizations with which I am concerned.

The consideration and attention you have given to the participation of youth groups in this conference is significant and, since the meeting was designed to stimulate the thinking of young people along the lines of their responsibilities in a smaller and more complex world—your support of their participation was most commendable. I am certain

that their activities, past, present, and yet to come, will demonstrate your justification in including them. * * *

★ ★ ★

It was a wonderful inspiration to me and I hope that I will be able to pass it on to others.

If the conference should fail to accomplish anything material, I feel that it has inspired seven hundred Americans toward better living. However, I do not feel that the conference did fail in its material value. I have already become dissatisfied with the rubbish in the streets of my small town. * * *

★ ★ ★

I am one of the group of 4-H Club members who attended the Citizenship Conference this past week, and I think that it is a great honor to have had the privilege of representing the Maryland 4-H Club in such a national conference. I feel that although I officially represented Maryland, I have had the opportunity of representing the 4-H Club members from all of the United States as well as the young people of the United States, especially in the discussion groups.

★ ★ ★

The National Education Association and the United States Department of Justice should be commended for the initiative they have taken to further the development of better citizens in our world.

I feel that much was accomplished in this conference. As for myself, it was an awakening in Citizenship. I shall attempt to pass along to our members the many constructive ideas and suggestions received from the conference.

I am sure the next conference will be still a greater success. * * *

★ ★ ★

I gained a great deal from the dicussions and speakers that will all be helpful in my work with rural 4-H Club members in this state. * * *

★ ★ ★

I wish to thank you for the privilege of attending the Citizenship Conference this past week. As a representative of youth through the Maryland 4-H Clubs, I think that the opportunity to attend a conference of adults is an honor for us, the youth of today.

By our participation in the discussion groups, which were made up of the leaders of the various organizations and schools of the United States, I feel that we have gained a wider view of the manner in which the adults conduct their programs and the way they reach their conclusions. By their years of experience they are bound to be more cautious in making decisions; whereas, we the youth are apt to think we see our way clear before we actually are ready to come to any conclusions at all.

Through such conferences as this National Citizenship Conference, I believe that both the youth and the adults can bring us forward in our work for national citizenship and world citizenship.

I was glad to see that the conference was interracial as well as inter-denominational. I have always believed that if more conferences of such groups were held, the prejudices against color and religion would slowly disappear. * * *

★ ★ ★

All of us left the conference feeling that we had gained a great many new ideas for our own citizenship programs. Camp Fire Girls, Inc., had two teenage representatives at the conference, and they seemed to enjoy it very much and they participated eagerly.

A conference that is planned so that it appeals to both the youth and the adult in the audience is a fine accomplishment. We look forward to participating in the next conference on citizenship. * * *

★ ★ ★

It was a splendid conference from beginning to end and represents a national effort which must be continued.

In representing the Boy Scouts of America, I thought of many opportunities for using ideas discussed at the conference. Through Scouting we should be able to carry forward positive ideas of a more enlightened citizenry. Personally I am deeply impressed by the need of educating Americans for feeling their responsibility towards world citizenship. I was most favorably impressed by the presentation of this subject and its discussion in the group of which I was a member. * * *

★ ★ ★

It was a great pleasure for me to attend the Third National Conference on Citizenship as a representative of the Boy Scouts of America. It was an extremely stimulating conference, which I am pleased to report back to our organization. You and the National Education Association are to be congratulated on your cooperative efforts in planning and staging this very significant undertaking. Please accept our appreciation for including us in the meeting. * * *

★ ★ ★

* * * The two young people who represented 4-H Club work in Virginia expressed themselves as being grateful that they were given the privilege of attending the conference. They were greatly benefited by participating in it and received much information that will be helpful to them and to club work in the state.

We are planning to use these two young people in some of our state meetings and in small group meetings in their counties. * * *

THE CONFERENCE MUST GO ON!

By

CARL B. HYATT, Director

Attorney General's Citizenship Program

The Third National Conference on Citizenship is history. It is good history. Moved by an intellectually challenging and emotionally uplifting experience, hundreds of the delegates have since voiced their conviction that the Conference on Citizenship must go on to become a vital force in shaping community, national, and world life.

To those of us who were active in the initiation of the conference and who took part in the early planning, the progress made in the two years since the First Conference was held in Philadelphia is encouraging and inspiring. Those responsible for that first meeting, which was born in the uncertain days of transition from war to peace, felt deeply our country's need for an enlightened and forward looking citizenry, sensible of its great heritage, vigilant in its defense, and alert to the fulfillment of its obligations in peace as in war.

The Philadelphia Conference, a milestone in democratic relations, brought to it people from diverse groups. They sat down together and counseled with each other on how best the ideals of American citizenship might be translated into dynamic reality.

While they recognized that differences among individuals are a part of democracy, they urged national solidarity to meet the challenge of the future. They stressed again and again the necessity for resolving these differences when they threaten to disrupt the unity of the whole.

On such high plane was set a pattern for the Second Conference, held in Boston a year later.

The Boston and Philadelphia Conferences were formative in character. It was intended that they should lay the groundwork for larger and more representative conferences in the future. Attendance was limited, and, to a certain extent, the organization and procedures were exploratory. Careful planning that had in mind long range objectives, went into these meetings, which were designed to find out how well representatives of different groups could work together, how analytically and objectively they could reexamine the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and how readily they could subordinate individual and special interests for the common good.

The Third Conference went far toward fulfillment of these objectives. It was larger and more representative. It convened at a crucial stage in national and world history. Meeting at a time when a spirit of uneasiness, apprehension, even of fear is abroad in our land, as in other lands, and when evidences of disunity are seen on every hand, the conference dealt with the impelling subject, "Rights and Responsibilities of United States citizenship" as they extend from the familiar places in our home communities to the far flung corners of the earth.

The conference emphasized that the peace and happiness of the world depend upon recognition and acceptance of the economic, social, and cultural interdependence of peoples everywhere. It was pointed out that when we talk of the duties and privileges of citizenship we mean not only community, state, and national citizenship, but international citizenship as well. For humanity is indivisible, liberty is indivisible, justice is indivisible, and peace is indivisible!

The earnest and spirited discussions of more than 800 men and women who came together in the Washington Conference, leaders among those having at heart the future of our country and of the world, would convince the worst skeptic that a National Conference on Citizenship is more than a noble idea; it is a reality!

Plans, therefore, are in the making for a Fourth Conference, even more positive and more inspirational in its contribution than its predecessors. We must come together again, as in the earlier meetings, to share our thinking on local, national, and international problems and to unite in seeking the common goal of effective citizenship.

We have much yet to do. We must work from the bottom up as well as from the top down. A nation is no stronger than the communities that go to make it up, and the community no stronger than its individual members.

If we learn how to be good citizens in the home community, we will be on the road to knowing how to be good citizens in the world community.

If we learn how to live in peace and happiness with our next door neighbor, we will know how to live in peace and happiness with other nations.

The Fourth National Conference on Citizenship, and those that follow it, must carry forward the work so well begun.